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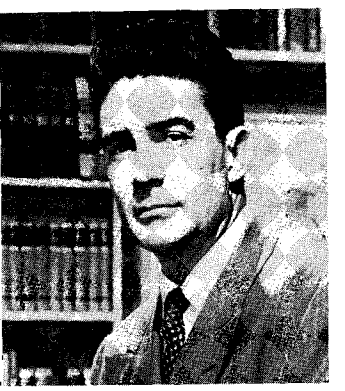

DAN SMOOT

WHISTLING PAST THE GRAVEYARD OF EXPERIENCE

"Whistling past the graveyard of experience," as Barry Goldwater phrased it, Senators voted to ratify the Test Ban Treaty — knowing that it creates great danger for our country, yet yielding conscience and logic to something they vaguely called hope: hope that all will turn out well. Perhaps it will: although the intent of the treaty is to begin the process of American surrender, the consequence of its ratification may put Barry Goldwater in the White House.

As soon as the Test Ban Treaty was signed in Moscow, State Department officials urged immediate hearings before Fulbright's Foreign Relations Committee, to forestall effective hearings by the Stennis Committee.[1] J. William Fulbright (extremist left-winger, who is Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee) could be depended on to subpoena "favorable" witnesses. The "Stennis Committee" is the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee, under the Chairmanship of John L. Stennis (Democrat, Mississippi). The two best conservatives in the Senate (Barry Goldwater and Strom Thurmond) are on the Stennis Committee. Stennis himself has an above-average conservative voting record. The State Department knew the Stennis Committee would subpoena outstanding authorities who would evaluate the Treaty solely on the basis of its effect on the security and safety of the United States.

The Stennis Committee would not be silenced. It held hearings and filed a report (September 9, 1963) which was put in the Record and called to the attention of every United States Senator before a vote on ratifying the Test Ban Treaty was taken.[2]

The Stennis Committee urged the Senate not to ratify the Test Ban Treaty, saying:

"From the extensive evidence presented to us, we have come to the conclusion that the proposed treaty banning nuclear testing in the atmosphere, underwater, and in space will affect

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adversely the future quality of this Nation's arms, and that it will result in serious, and perhaps formidable, military and technical disadvantages . . . . At the same time, we are not convinced that comparable military disadvantages will accrue to the nuclear weapon programs of the U.S.S.R."[2]

The Stennis Committee obtained its information from such men as Admiral Arleigh A. Burke (former Chief of Naval Operations), Admiral Arthur W. Radford (former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff), General Nathan F. Twining (former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff) — men who, now free of political pressures, strongly denounced the Test Ban Treaty as harmful to the military security of the United States.

General Thomas S. Power testified that the Test Ban Treaty would tie our hands and keep us from developing a missile system to defend the nation. General Power is in charge of strategic bombers which, until now, have been the greatest deterrent to the start of nuclear war, but which are already being phased out, for eventual elimination.

General Bernard A. Schriever, head of the missile development program of the Air Force, gave the same kind of testimony.

Dr. Edward Teller (known as father of the Hydrogen Bomb) said:

"A test ban treaty with the Soviet Union would prevent vital improvements of our atomic explosives as well as foreclose the development of antimissiles and systems like Nike-Zeus and Nike-X. It would not keep the Russians from cheating. Such a treaty, in sum, would endanger our security and help the Soviet Union in its plan to conquer the world."[3]

Specifically, the Stennis Committee learned that ratification of the Test Ban Treaty would prevent the United States from:

Testing the vulnerability of our missile-launching systems to high-yield nuclear explosions;

Testing the vulnerability of missile warheads and nose cones to nuclear explosions during atmospheric re-entry;

Studying atmospheric and high altitude radar blackout phenomena;

Studying communications blackout phenomena which result from high-yield nuclear explosions;

Making full-scale operational tests of anti-ballistic systems;

Developing high-yield warheads equal to what the Soviets already have;

Testing the effects of high-yield nuclear weapons;

Testing underwater nuclear weapons for improved anti-submarine defense;

Making full-scale performance and reliability tests of our Minuteman and Titan missile systems (the keystones of our present early warning and continental defense, whose operational effectiveness is unknown because it has never been fully tested);

Testing the yield and effectiveness of our largest stockpiled weapons;

Conducting troop training tactical exercises in the use of nuclear weapons.

This critically necessary research has not been done heretofore, because the United States has done no testing of high-yield nuclear weapons (those above 15 megatons) since 1954. The Soviets, ignoring their own promises, have had a continuous, aggressive program of testing high-yield weapons. Their latest series of high-yield tests (1961-1962) are believed to have produced all the research information the Soviets will need for several years.

We have none of this information. With the Test Ban Treaty, we renounce our right to develop it. Without it, we could be at the mercy of the Soviets.

Why?

With all these facts before them, 81 United States Senators approved ratification of the Test Ban Treaty. Why?

Senator Joseph S. Clark, Jr., extremist liberal

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Democrat from Pennsylvania, stated the reason bluntly: liberals welcomed the Treaty as a step toward total renunciation of American independence, for the ideal of a one-world superstate, policed by a United Nations international army.[4] Here is the way Clark put it:

"Personally, I hope that the next step will be . . . . negotiation . . . of a treaty of general and complete disarmament under enforceable world law as advocated by President Kennedy and, before him, by President Eisenhower . . . .

"This would require the elimination of military establishments all over the world, including our own . . . .

"That this is the fixed long-range policy of the United States was made clear by our President . . . on September 25, 1961, in an address to the General Assembly of the United Nations . . . .

"This treaty is a very small step in that direction. . . ."[4]

That is what the Senate did when it ratified the Test Ban Treaty: it took a step toward Kennedy's objective of destroying the United States as a free and independent nation. But not many Senators who voted for the Treaty *seemed* to know what they were doing — if one can judge from what they said.

U. S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (Democrat, Minnesota) said:

"It is possible that the Soviets might test subkiloton devices or weapons in the atmosphere and not be caught . . . .

"The risk of secret preparations for tests in the atmosphere and surprise abrogation of the nuclear test ban by the Soviet Union is one of the risks which we will assume when we enter into the treaty . . . .

"The Soviets could prepare in secret for an extensive series of tests in the atmosphere and then suddenly abrogate the treaty. Or they could attempt a program of clandestine tests in the atmosphere or in space. A third course would be for them to secretly prepare for a large-scale series of atmospheric tests while at the same time conducting very small clandestine tests with limited objectives in the atmosphere which they might feel had a good chance of escaping detection . . . .

"The risks to our security from a sudden abrogation of the treaty by the Soviets are derived primarily from the lead-time the Soviets would gain over our own testing . . . ."[5]

Senator Humphrey voted in favor of the Treaty.

U. S. Senator Hugh Scott (Republican, Pennsylvania) said:

"Let us never forget that when the Soviet leaders signed, the mere affixing of a signature changed nothing in their attitude toward the United States or their determination to destroy freedom wherever they could lay oppressive hands upon it . . . .

"We cannot trust the Soviet Union. Their word today is a broken promise of tomorrow . . . . This treaty should be based on our hopes for the future, our knowledge of the past, our awareness that one of the signatories must be constantly under surveillance for planned violations. The security and the prestige of the United States could hardly be more urgently involved.

"It is the desire of each of us to support the President of the United States, to support the foreign policy of the United States. It is my hope that I can . . . ."[6]

Senator Scott voted in favor of the Treaty.

U. S. Senator William Proxmire (Democrat, Wisconsin) said:

"I understand . . . that there are three possible ways under this treaty in which the Soviet Union, allegedly, could test, in the atmosphere without being detected. These illegal tests might give the Soviet Union an opportunity to advance its art, to advance its knowledge, and advance its military capability, as compared to ours.

"First, they could test our subkiloton explosions and antimissile systems to the extent of determining how a nuclear explosion, even a subkiloton explosion, might distort our capability to determine the path of incoming missiles. It was asserted that we have not conducted those tests to the extent that we would have liked . . . .

"Dr. Edward Teller . . . raised several profound and disturbing questions . . . in the hearings. One of the questions he raised relates to what tests we had planned that we now will

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cancel in view of the proposed agreement. As I understand, the tests which he said we had planned included tests which would develop our skill in detecting incoming missiles and permit us to develop a better antimissile system . . . .

"The danger of nuclear war might be greatly enhanced if one side could obtain a sharp, decisive advantage, particularly in the area of an antiballistic missile system so that that side would be able virtually to eliminate the retaliatory power of the other side . . . .

"The question may be raised, 'Are we going to act the part of the hare and go to sleep by not testing ourselves, thus giving the Soviet Union the advantage of testing in the atmosphere in violation of the treaty?'

"They may thus be enabled to develop a perfect antiballistic missile defense system which would give them a supreme advantage and the opportunity to achieve victory . . . .

"We would not violate the treaty by testing subkiloton bombs in the atmosphere. The Russians could. If they did, they could do so without being detected . . . .

"Russia could be in a position to test during a period of a very few days, and then find that their system worked, and then initiate a war in which they would be fairly certain to impose on us far, far more destruction than we would impose on them . . . ."[7]

Senator Proxmire voted in favor of the Treaty.

U. S. Senator J. Glenn Beall (Republican, Maryland) said:

"I firmly believe that the Soviets will not hesitate to break this treaty when it serves their purpose to do so. We are fully aware of Russia's record of broken agreements . . . .

"I am mindful of the fact that the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee has filed a report stating that the treaty will adversely affect the future quality of the nation's arms and that it will result in serious military disadvantages . . . .

"Let us place our trust in the path of strength . . . ."[8]

Senator Beall voted in favor of the Treaty.

U. S. Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr. (Democrat, North Carolina) said:

"After much deliberation . . . I have decided to vote to approve the test ban treaty. This is the most difficult decision I have had to make since coming to the Senate 9 years ago.

"Candor compels the confession that I shall cast my vote for approval without great enthusiasm . . . .

"Despite these assurances [from the President and others], I would vote without hesitation to reject the proposed test ban treaty if my judgment permitted me to base my decision solely upon military considerations. The tragic truth is that this particular test ban agreement should never have been negotiated . . . .

"When a Senator votes . . . . in favor of approval, he will vote for approval of an agreement which imposes upon his country military disadvantages. If he votes in favor of rejection, he will vote to cast cold water upon the hopes of mankind . . . .

"The men of the Kremlin have not changed their hearts or their purpose . . . . They still hold fast to their dream of world conquest . . . ."[9]

Senator Ervin voted for the Treaty.

U. S. Senator Jack Miller (Republican, Iowa) said:

"A massive series of atmospheric tests was made by the Soviet Union in 1961. From them, they could have obtained information — and we have had testimony on this point — which might have an impact on the security of the United States . . . .

"There has also been the Cuban confrontation, in which the Soviet Union had covertly put intermediate range ballistic missiles into Cuba; and on that point Gromyko lied in his teeth to the President of the United States. Khrushchev said he would take the Soviet troops out of Cuba, but he reneged on that. Khrushchev also agreed to on-site inspections in Cuba, but he also reneged on that . . . .

"I believe we should evaluate the treaty in line with these [events] . . . ."[10]

Senator Miller voted in favor of the Treaty.

During debate on September 13, 1963, Senator A. Willis Robertson (Democrat, Virginia) said:

"I happen to know, from all the testimony and also inside confidential advice, that not a single

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military expert has recommended the treaty to us from a military standpoint. Is that correct?"[11]

Senator Henry M. Jackson (Democrat, Washington) answered Robertson's question:

"From a military standpoint, that is correct. There is no doubt that there are military disadvantages to the proposed treaty."[11]

Jackson voted for the Treaty. Robertson was one of 19 who voted against it.

U. S. Senator Roman L. Hruska (Republican, Nebraska) said:

"It is in the spirit of hope . . . that I will cast my vote in favor of ratifying this limited test ban treaty . . . .

"Never, in my years of public service, has such an outpouring of thoughtful, reasoned letters reached my desk as those relating to the issue before us . . . .

"Many of those speaking . . . have pointed out that we cannot trust the Soviet Union to abide by its terms. This Senator is in full agreement with that view . . . .

"If this treaty were dependent upon Soviet good faith, then I would vigorously oppose it . . . . But after careful and lengthy consideration I am persuaded that the treaty does not depend upon trusting the Russians. This is so because of the safeguards provided in the President's letters . . . ."[12]

Senator Hruska voted to ratify.

U. S. Senator Everett M. Dirksen (Republican, Illinois) said:

"Think of the propaganda weapon that we would give Nikita Khrushchev if we failed to stand up and ratify the treaty. He could go into all the areas of the world and say to their leaders, 'Did I not tell you for many years that they are imperialists, capitalists, and warmongers? Here is the proof. They refused to subscribe to a cessation of testing of the hideous weapons that can snuff out so much life.' . . .

"The treaty will not necessarily stop war. We hope it will. We hope it is in the direction of peace. What else can we do except hope? But is there assurance? None . . . ."[13]

Senator Dirksen voted for the Treaty.

Senators, who acknowledged that the Treaty is dangerous, approved it for the asinine reason that the United States must show itself devoted to peace! A great nation whose sick leadership renounces national strength and national pride *invites* war and eliminates the possibility of peace.

Senators, who have consistently voted during the past 15 years to plunder the taxpayers of this nation for lavish support of practically every other nation on earth, supported the Test Ban Treaty for the reason that the United States must do *something* to win approval of world opinion and to show that we are well-intentioned!

Senators who know that it is a dangerous delusion to risk the life of a nation on the integrity and good sense of one man, and who know specifically that it is folly to assume that President Kennedy can always be trusted to do what is good for the United States, voted for the Test Ban Treaty because Kennedy gave "assurances."

They voted for the treaty to keep Khrushchev from criticizing us, knowing that nothing but death can stop Khrushchev's lies. They voted for it because of its "political advantages," but no one explained what the political advantages might be. They voted for it because 80 or more nations had already ratified, knowing that the ratifications are meaningless because of all the nations which ratified, only 3 (the U. S., the U.S.S.R., and Great Britain) are capable of the activity which the Treaty prohibits.

Goldwater

But most of the Senators seemed to vote for the treaty, merely because they hoped. Barry Goldwater discussed that hopefulness.

Of the 19 Senators[14] who stood against the Test Ban Treaty, Barry Goldwater stood tallest of all. He said:

"In favor of it [test ban treaty], after all is said and done, is a hope, usually described as a faint glimmer, that this may be the first step toward easing tension in the world. It is difficult, if not impossible, to argue with a hope. It is an

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emotional thing; and in its soft and gentle glow, arguments appear harsh. The more fragile an illusion, the more rude must seem the attempts to shatter it.

"I have warned, and will continue to warn, that nuclear weapons are not the cause of tension in this world; that if all were to disappear magically overnight, the tension would remain, so long as world communism remains dedicated to aggression and obsessed by its irrational vision of man as a mere cog in the machine of history.

"But hope heeds only itself. How does one remind hope that, hitherto, on-site inspection has been the qualification of our trust of any arms control scheme? How does one remind hope that the technology of remote detection still has not developed fully to a point where it can replace such inspection? Or how does one tell hope, sprung from fear, that fallout is less a present threat than smog and fumes of everyday life? If we say these things, hope — revulsed — shrinks from our harsh words. One who says these things stands alone, a sad, somber, and unwelcome guest in a house of celebrants.

"We are, apparently, well past arguing with hope. The future will shatter the hope and will sober the celebrants. But we must wait.

"For my part, and the part of the other few who must heed other voices in their conscience, there is only the time now to say why we will vote, as we must, to oppose approval of this treaty. I perceive two reasons, basically; and I have based my decisions upon one.

"First, there is the reason that this treaty is a political ambush, baited by the necessity of the Soviet to ease the many pressures upon its tyranny . . . Why [is] freedom . . . aided by putting salve on the wounds of tyranny? . . .

"I see no change in the future until or unless the objectives of communism . . . change. And not even hope has spoken to us so far of a change in those objectives. Rather, all say that the objectives remain unchanged. But hope, it seems, can hear that truth and still proceed, whistling past the graveyard of experience. . . .

"But assurances are not facts, promises are not performances; and I do not feel that freedom's strength, in a time of freedom's peril, can be armored by either. Such strength is a matter of here and now, not of 'if and when.' Real hope must be founded upon real strength . . . .

"Now the Senate must pardon me for speaking of real weapons in the real world. As I have said, the words sound harsh in the glow of hope. Truth often does . . . .

"Ask the men who must man the missiles [about nuclear explosions distorting electronic circuitry and electronic missile triggers] and they say tests are needed. Ask if the Soviets have not already tested in this area and we find that we do not know — but there is ample evidence upon which to presume that they have.

"Ask the man upon whose command rests 90 percent of the strategic striking power of this Nation: Ask General Power the impact of this treaty upon the strength about which he knows as much as any man. We have all heard his answer. This treaty is not in the national interest.

"Ask the man whose job it has been to work with the most advanced weapons system: ask General Schriever the impact of this treaty. We all have heard his answer. He felt he could protect his country better without the treaty.

"And what of the Joint Chiefs of Staff altogether? Remember now, if you will, only that they finally supported the treaty because of many safeguards, many promises, and political advantages of which others had spoken. But remember every other day of your life, every day that the time bomb of communist treachery ticks closer to detonation, that they spoke and spoke clearly of military disadvantages under this treaty.

"Pray God that we do not have to remember that under attack, weakened and unprepared.

"Remember also their warning that a state of euphoria would be the most deadly consequence of the treaty. Remember that as we now officially study increased trade with the Soviets. Remember it when the next steps are taken, the pacts proposed, the agreements signed. It is not too late to remember those things now, but other, more popular tunes seem to dance in the air . . . .

"I will vote against this treaty because it will erode our military strength. I will vote against this treaty because it preserves the enemy's advances in high-yield weaponry while freeing them to overtake our lead in low-yield research. We pay a price; they do not.

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"I do not vote against the hope of peace, but only against the illusion of it. I do not vote for war, but for the strength to prevent it.

"I have been told, as have others, I am sure, that to vote against this treaty is to commit political suicide.

"I will vote against this treaty because in my heart, mind, soul and conscience, I feel it detrimental to the strength of my country.

"If it means political suicide to vote for my country and against this treaty, then I commit it gladly. It is not my future that concerns me. It is my country — and what my conscience tells me is how best I may serve it."[15]

I do not agree with Barry Goldwater's stand on some issues.[16] I feel that conservative effort should be made, between now and the political conventions of 1964, to lay groundwork for Independent Electors or Third Party political action in case Goldwater is not nominated.

But my most earnest prayer is that the Republican Convention of 1964 will nominate Goldwater for President. If he is nominated, the people will elect him. I was convinced of this in 1960. I am even more convinced of it now.

Goldwater's speech about the Test Ban Treaty, and President Kennedy's reaction, have cleared the political atmosphere in the United States. Goldwater spoke on September 19. On September 26, Kennedy, at Salt Lake City, launched the 1964 political campaign against *Goldwater.* The issue is now clear: in 1964, the people of the United States will decide: (1) to continue the Kennedy program of dismantling the United States and making it a helpless province in a one-world socialist system; or (2) to elect Barry Goldwater and *begin the process* of re-establishing the United States as a free and independent constitutional Republic.

If Kennedy stays in power (or if some liberal Republican is elected to succeed him), the drive toward world government will quicken disastrously.

The ultimate solution to the question of how we shall reverse the policies of the federal government, so that the United States can survive in peace as a free nation, will be found when the people elect enough constitutionalists to control Congress. But the nation may not last long enough to find that solution, unless something is done

WHO IS DAN SMOOT?

Born in Missouri, reared in Texas, Dan Smoot went to SMU in Dallas, getting BA and MA degrees in 1938 and 1940. In 1941, he joined the faculty at Harvard as a Teaching Fellow in English, doing graduate work for a doctorate in American Civilization.

In 1942, he left Harvard and joined the FBI. As an FBI Agent, he worked for three and a half years on communist investigations in the industrial Midwest; two years as an administrative assistant to J. Edgar Hoover on FBI headquarters staff in Washington; and almost four years on general FBI cases in various parts of the nation.

In 1951, Smoot resigned from the FBI and helped start Facts Forum. On Facts Forum radio and television programs, Smoot spoke to a national audience, giving *both* sides of controversial issues.

In July, 1955, he resigned and started his present independent publishing and broadcasting business — a free-enterprise operation financed entirely by profits from sales: sales of *The Dan Smoot Report,* a weekly magazine; and sales of a weekly news-analysis broadcast, to business firms, for use on radio and television as an advertising vehicle. The *Report* and the broadcast give only *one* side in presenting documented truth about important issues — the side that uses the American Constitution as a yardstick. The *Report* is available by subscription; and the broadcasts are available for commercial sponsorship, anywhere in the United States.

If you think Dan Smoot is providing effective tools for Americans fighting socialism and communism, you can help immensely — by helping him get more customers for his *Report* and broadcasts.

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in 1964 to halt the Kennedy program. Barry Goldwater as President could halt it.

For 30 years, the prestige, propaganda, and patronage of the White House have been exerted in the cause of totalitarian liberialism. Under this influence, millions of Americans have quite forgotten, and more millions have grown up in ignorance of, the meaning of American constitutional principles. The few who have clung to principles (consistently criticizing the unconstitutional programs of Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy) have been treated as outcasts, crackpots, extremists, and troublemakers. Clinging to principle, however, the few have had influence on public thought: and, in recent years, they have multiplied in number. The enormous job of re-educating the American people to understand and respect the principles of their own society is under way. Barry Goldwater as President could complete the job in time to restore the Republic.

FOOTNOTES

(1) *Congressional Record* (daily), September 16, 1963, pp. 16176-7

(2) Complete text of Stennis Committee Report, *Congressional Record,* (daily), September 13, 1963, pp. 16072-5

(3) *Congressional Record* (daily), September 16, 1963, p. 16219

(4) *Congressional Record* (daily), September 16, 1963, p. 16210-3

(5) *Congressional Record* (daily), September 10, 1963, pp. 15755, 15763-4

(6) *Congressional Record* (daily), September 10, 1963, p. 15738

(7) *Congressional Record* (daily), September 10, 1963, pp. 15753-6

(8) *Congressional Record* (daily), September 11, 1963, pp. 15906-7

(9) *Congressional Record* (daily), September 17, 1963, pp. 16242-3

(10) *Congressional Record* (daily), September 10, 1963, p. 15750

(11) *Congressional Record* (daily), September 13, 1963, p. 16081

(12) *Congressional Record* (daily), September 19, 1963, pp. 16646-8

(13) *Congressional Record* (daily), September 11, 1963, pp. 15912-6

(14) Here are the 19 U. S. Senators (11 Democrats, 8 Republicans) who voted against the Test Ban Treaty: Barry Goldwater (Republican, Arizona), John L. McClellan (Democrat, Arkansas), Richard B. Russell and Herman E. Talmadge (Democrats, Georgia), Len B. Jordan (Republican, Idaho), Russell B. Long (Democrat, Louisiana), Margaret Chase Smith (Republican, Maine), James O. Eastland and John L. Stennis (Democrats, Mississippi) Carl T. Curtis (Republican, Nebraska), Edwin L. Mechem (Republican, New Mexico), Frank J. Lausche (Democrat, Ohio), Strom Thurmond (Democrat, South Carolina), John G. Tower (Republican, Texas), Wallace F. Bennett (Republican, Utah), Harry Flood Byrd and A. Willis Robertson (Democrats, Virginia), Robert C. Byrd (Democrat, West Virginia), Milward L. Simpson (Republican, Wyoming)

(15) *Congressional Record* (daily), September 19, 1963, pp. 16654-6

(16) See "Political Action For 1964," this *Report,* June 17, 1963, pp. 189-90

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Washington officialdom uses your taxes for programs that are creating vast cesspools of waste and corruption — and dragging our Republic into the quicksands of socialism. What can you do about it?

You can help educate and arouse the people who elect men responsible for harmful programs of government. When enough other Americans know and care as you do, political action to restore our Republic will come.

If *The Dan Smoot Report* was instrumental in bringing you to the point of asking what *you* can do about saving the country from mushrooming big government, here is a checklist for you: Have you urged others to subscribe to the *Report?* Have you sent them reprints of a particular issue of the *Report?* Have you shown them a Dan Smoot film? Have you ever suggested a Bound Volume of *The Dan Smoot Report* for use by speakers, debaters, students, writers? Have you read and passed on to others any of the Dan Smoot books — *The Invisible Government, The Hope Of The World, America's Promise?*

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